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NOTES ON JAVAN.

II.

Jemen. Until comparatively recently our main sources of information on Southern Arabia were the O. T. and the Greek geographers. The earliest cuneiform records in which mention is made of Aribi (about the ninth century B. C.), refer to N. or NE. Arabia. But now, thanks to explorers such as Halévy and Glaser, historians have been put in possession of a vast number of inscriptions, mostly from Jemen, which have thrown new light on the history of the country. The inscriptions, mainly dedicatory, have been found for the most part midst the ruins of temples, on stone blocks, pillars, &c. Their language is a form of Arabic. Four dialects have been distinguished : Minaean, Sabaean, Hadhramautan, and Katabanian. In the last two dialects, which have a close affinity with the Minaean, only a very few inscriptions have, as yet, been found. The Sabaean differs from the others not only in vocabulary, but also in grammar.

In the minds of most people Arabia is associated with the desert. But Southern Arabia contains many fertile districts. On account of its fertility Jemen, or Arabia Felix, had in very early times a settled population, and a highly developed civilization [cf. Caetoni, *Annali dell' Islam*, II (1907), p. 1093]. We have no chronicles dealing directly with the early history of Jemen. Its history has to be inferred, but the inferences now drawn are more far-reaching than could have been deemed possible when the old sources of information alone were at command. About 2000 B.C., it is conjectured¹, there was an immigration of

¹ Cf. Weber, *Arabien vor dem Islam*, A. O. III, 1² (1904), pp. 22 ff.

Minaeans (the Hadhramautans and Katabanians reaching their later settlements as part of the same migration) from the north. From the fifteenth century B.C., or thereabout, there was an independent Minaean empire. This was overthrown about the eighth century B.C. by the Sabaeans, a people who, like the Minaeans, came from Northern Arabia. The Sabaeans in turn fell before the Himyarites about the first or second century before our era.

Of the people who preceded the Minaeans in Jemen nothing is as yet definitely known. That the Minaeans owed their culture to them seems evident. In the earliest Minaean inscriptions, for instance, the alphabet is already completely developed, and nomad invaders could scarcely have been possessed of this mark of high culture.

Jemen was never an isolated land. It was the centre of the incense trade, and the heart of the world's commerce, when such commerce was still in its infancy [Sprenger, *Alte Geographie Arabiens* (1875), pp. 289, 297]. South Arabia, and Jemen in particular, was traditionally wealthy¹. The treasures possessed by its peoples were a source of wonder to the Greek geographers². The fanaticism of Islam gave the death-blow to Jemen's prosperity³. It is fanatical Islam that still guards the secrets of the past and prevents us forming an adequate estimate of the civilizations that here rose and fell.

The name Jemen (Arab. جَمَان) is old. Its derivation

¹ Cf. e.g. Plinius, *Hist. Nat.*, vi. 163 'Arabes . . . in universum gentes ditissimae.'

² Cf. Agatharchides (*Geogr. Graec. Min.*, ed. Müller, p. 190) ἔστι δὲ πολυτέλεια παρ' αὐτοῖς (sc. Sabaeans and Gerrhaeans) οὐ μόνον ἐν τορεύμασι θαυμαστοῖς καὶ ποτηρίων ποικιλίαις, ἔτι δὲ κλινῶν καὶ τριπόδων μεγέθεσι, [ἄλλα] καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν κατ' οἰκίαν παρ' ἡμῖν ἐκτεινομένων λαμβάνει τὴν ὑπερβολὴν πολλῶν, ὡς ἔοικε, κεκτημένων χορηγίαν βασιλικήν. Κίονάς τε πολλούς αὐτοῖς φησὶ κατεσκευάσθαι ἐπιχρύσους τε καὶ ἀργυρούς, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τὰς ὄροφας καὶ θύρας φιάλαις λιθοκολλήτοις ἐξειλῆφθαι πυκνάς, ὡσαύτως καὶ τὰ μεσοστύλια θέαν ἔχειν εὐπρεπῆ, καὶ καθόλου τοὺς παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων πλούτους ἐκκείσθαι τὴν διαφορὰν μεγάλην. Cf. also Diod. iii. 46.

³ *Vide* Koran, xxvi. 128 f.

is unknown, and none of the suggested derivations¹ can be considered quite satisfactory. From Glaser, however, comes an interesting suggestion. He thinks that the *Yauna takabard* of the Darius inscriptions might very possibly refer to the Jemenites [*Skizze*, II, pp. 431 f.]. The Arabic word is the exact equivalent of *Ja-ma-nu*, which corresponds to *Yauna* in the Assyrian rendering. Is Javan then associated with Jemen? Are our Javanites Jemenites? Lassen, it will be remembered, expressed the conviction that the *Javana* of the earlier Indian literature were an Arabian people. He supported his argument by quoting the word *jdvana*, the Indian word for incense [cf. *Ind. Altertumsk.*², I, 2, p. 724]. Other forms of the word *javana* applied to peculiarly Arabian products, such as *bdellium*, *styrax*, *olibanum*², &c., greatly strengthen the argument. One recalls, too, in this connexion the Ezekiel mention of *Javan* (xxvii. 19), which, in the opinion of many commentators, must be sought in Arabia. Further, it would appear that the South Semitic, the so-called *Joktanite*, alphabet is the parent of the Indian [Taylor, *Alphabet*², 1899, II, pp. 314 ff.].

Navigation must have been in progress on the South Arabian coast in remote antiquity³. We have good cause to believe that there was regular communication in prehistoric days between the Arabian coast and the opposite coast of *Somali* in Africa. At the time of *Gudea* large ships circumnavigated the Arabian peninsula to procure

¹ Jemen, so called (a) after a ruler of that name; (b) from its position on the right (facing eastward) of the *Caabah*; (c) from the word يَمَنْ meaning "prosperity, good fortune." The last derivation, the one most favoured (cf. Glaser, *Skizze*, II, p. 170), suggests rather popular etymology. See Johannsen, *Historia Jemanae*, &c. (1828), p. 26.

² *Vide* S. Lévi, *Quid de Graecis monumenta Indorum tradiderint* (1890), p. 25—*Yavanaka*, *olibanum*: *Yavanadeṣṭaja* (in *Yavanorum* regione natum), *styrax*: *Yavanadviṣṭa* (*Yavanis* inimicum), *bdellium*: also *Yavanaprija* was used for pepper: *ṣāṭa* for the palm tree (*palma fera*).

³ Cf. Sigismund, *Aromata*, 1884, pp. 94 ff.; Sprenger, *Alte Geographie Arabiens*, 1875, pp. 289 ff.

building materials for Babylonian temples [cf. *Keil. Bib.*, III, pp. 52 ff.]. The bulk of the South Arabian trade must have been carried on by a people settled on the sea-coast in that quarter. The peoples to whom incense was exported had little love of the sea. Amongst the Indians trading itself was regarded as an unworthy occupation and, according to the laws of Manu, the "sailor on the sea" was held to be unclean. The Persians' aversion to the sea was well known. Babylonia proper, except in the earliest historical times, was separated from the sea by the marsh lands at the mouth of the river. When Sinaherib, in later times, was preparing to invade Elam, he brought Hittite craftsmen from Syria to build vessels for him, just as, still later, Alexander employed Phoenicians for the same purpose. To the Egyptians the "Great Green," as they called the ocean, was an abomination, and not till the Ptolemaic period was sea-trade established with India. Whether, on the other hand, the maritime races of the Aegean penetrated so far south in pre-Homeric days, cannot as yet be determined. Glaser is evidently convinced that they did so [*Skizze*, II, p. 435]. It is well known that there were waterways constructed linking the Red Sea and the Nile, and it is difficult to see what purpose they could have served other than that of commerce. The earliest canal of which we have knowledge was that ascribed to Sesostris¹ (perhaps Usertesen III) [Pliny, vi. 165]. It is of course possible that if, as seems to have been the case, there was a regular trade between the Mediterranean and the South, the races of the Aegean took part as well as the peoples of Southern Arabia. Words used by Pliny² could be taken as implying that a tradition existed connecting the peoples of Crete and of Jemen.

¹ Often identified with Ramses II. The reading Sen-user for Usertesen connects this name with Sesostris [Hall, *Oldest Civilisation of Greece*, 1901, p. 320].

² *Ac Minaei a rege Cretae Minoe, ut existimant, originem trahentes . . . Rhadamaei (et horum origo Rhadamanthus putatur, frater Minois) (VI, 157).*

Of what race were the peoples who inhabited Southern Arabia in the remote past? Did they speak a Semitic language, or did the Semitic take the place of an earlier non-Semitic speech? History has recorded the triumph of the Semitic idiom in Babylonia, Assyria, Syria, and later in Egypt and North Africa. Had it a similar conquest in Southern Arabia?

It is a fact of more than ordinary interest that, according to early Egyptian monuments, the inhabitants of Punt (i.e. Jemen, including perhaps also a part of the African coast) belonged to the white race [Maspero, *L'Orient Classique*, II (1897), p. 248]. In many ways they, as depicted, show a resemblance to the Egyptians themselves. In one or two cases the natives of Punt are represented as dark, with a negro-type of feature. There is no indication, on the earlier monuments at least, that a Semitic race inhabited Punt. Further, it has been pointed out by Renan [*Hist. des Langues Sémit.* (1855), pp. 298 ff.] that the early civilization of Jemen was essentially non-Semitic, and the ancient customs of Jemen had nothing in common with the Semitic. As a consequence of successive Semitic immigrations the Semitic language took the place of the indigenous, undergoing, however, several alterations in the process¹.

There seems every reason to believe, then, that in Southern Arabia (and notably in Jemen or South-west Arabia) there dwelt a non-Semitic people possessed of a high degree of civilization, who carried on an extensive trade with all parts of the then known world. The time has not yet come for excavation in Southern Arabia, but, if surface remains are any indication, when that time does come we may look for fruitful results. If we are right in our belief that at one time the Javanites had a home there we must needs inquire as to the relationship, if any, between them and the pre-Semitic population of Babylonia.

¹ Hommel, *Abriß*, &c. (1889), p. 48, thinks there can be no doubt that the Phoenicians, as also the earliest inhabitants of South Arabia, were not Semites originally, but were Semitized in course of time.

It will be remembered that their astronomical knowledge, so much lauded by Indian astronomers, led us to believe that they were in some way connected with the "Sumerians." As Sigismund [*Aromata*, p. 216 f.] rightly remarks, the people who first promoted navigation must have been the people who began to make a study of the stars. For them the close observation of the heavens became a necessity. The religion of South Arabia was, moreover, astral, as was that of Babylonia. Which pantheon borrowed from the other—the two had much in common—cannot of course be determined. Then, again, the ocean served as a medium for the acquisition and transmission of culture. Races engaged in a sea-trade with distant lands have unique opportunities for the development of their civilization. The significance of the sea in promoting civilization was early recognized. Ea, the god of the ocean in the Babylonian pantheon, was the "lord of wisdom." The ocean, his dwelling-place, was the "house of wisdom." All the arts were under his special protection. He was the guardian deity of the mariner, the potter, the workers in gold, silver, and precious stones [cf. Rawlinson, *W. A. T.*, II, 58]. Furthermore, the only tradition we possess respecting the origin of Babylonian civilization—if the myth of Oannes¹ as preserved by Berosus [*vide Frag. Hist. Graec.*, ed. Müller, II, p. 496 f.] can be regarded in the light of a tradition²—indicates that Chaldaea owed its earliest civilization to a people who came in from the sea. It is not unnatural to infer that these highly-civilized immigrants had found their way thither from Southern Arabia. Whence else they could have come it is difficult to see.

¹ According to the narrative a curious creature, half man, half fish, appeared from the Erythraean Sea, and taught the earliest inhabitants of Babylonia all they knew. It taught them the use of the letters, and the various arts, how to people cities, erect temples, frame laws, measure land, sow seed, and reap the harvest—in fact everything that tended to promote comfort in daily life.

² Cf. Jeremias, *Theol. Litt.-Zeit.*, 1898, No. 19, p. 507.

If attention has been directed above to migrations southward from North Arabia, it should not be forgotten that in much earlier times there were, so far as can be ascertained, migrations from Southern Arabia northwards. Many scholars believe that Egypt derived its early civilization from South Arabia. Punt or Pūn (thought by many to be connected with Poeni) was to the Egyptian the "land of the gods," and Petrie, for instance, holds that the Egyptians were a branch of the Pūnite race [*History of Egypt*, I (1895), pp. 12 f.]¹. Then, too, according to the well-known tradition, the Phoenicians left their ancient settlements on the Erythraean Sea (here thought to mean the Persian Gulf), and sought new homes on the Syrian coast. These Phoenicians were doubtless a branch of the Jemenite race. There was, in any case, much in common between the two peoples².

The appearance of the Semites on the scene must have disturbed the existing civilizations of both Babylonia and Southern Arabia, and there must have ensued considerable emigration of the original inhabitants. The "Sumerian" population of Babylonia seems to have come under Semitic influence and Semitic rule earlier than their kindred in Jemen. Although to all appearance the Semites settled down alongside the Sumerians, there can be no reason to doubt that large numbers of the latter would have been forced to seek new homes. It is with this migration that we might

¹ According to Diod. iii. 3 it was a report amongst the Ethiopians that Egypt was a colony of Ethiopia.

² In religion; cf. J. Dérenbourg, *Études s. l'Épigraphie du Yemen*, 1884, p. 17; Halévy, *Z. D. M. G.*, XXXII, p. 174; Hommel, *Gestirndienst der alten Araber* (1901), p. 10. Renan [*Hist. des Langues Sémit.*, pp. 298 ff.] thinks of "ethnographic, historic, and linguistic" connexions between Jemen and Phoenicia. Circumcision was practised in Jemen [cf. Sigismund, *Aromata*, p. 102], and from Herod. ii. 104 it appears that the same custom was in vogue amongst the Phoenicians. Petrie [*Hist. Egypt*, p. 15] thinks that the Phoenicians left their first home on the Persian Gulf, and re-settled in South Arabia, whence they passed up the Red Sea and crossed into Egypt, ere they went still further north.

connect the traditional migration of the Phoenicians. The migration was in all probability gradual, embracing a considerable period. Settlements were made in Syria by numbers of these Javanites. Others migrated further north and entered the Aegean over Asia Minor. In all probability the Delta (since the wanderers would naturally follow the path of the Red Sea) furnished a convenient refuge, and perhaps, too, they spread along the Libyan coast.

Early Aegean Civilization. The civilization of Greece during the bronze age, or roughly the second Millennium B.C., has come to be known as the "Mycenaean." Excavations in various parts of the Aegean furnished results which led scholars to believe they were dealing with a distinctive civilization, and to impose the limits to its duration indicated. The situation has been somewhat altered by the discoveries made in Crete within the last few years¹. Vast palaces and royal villas have been brought to light. Much that is suggestive of modern civilization has been found. The splendid architecture, the highly artistic frescoes, the beautiful work of the goldsmith, the bronzesmith, the potter, have revealed to us early Aegean civilization in a new and surprising light. Evans has shown by his excavations at Knossos that civilization there had developed more or less continuously from about 4000 B.C. This civilization, common to Crete, has been called by him Minoan. In it he distinguishes three main periods—Early, Middle, and Late. Each of these main periods he subdivides into three minor periods. It appears to be only the Late Minoan period with which the term Mycenaean can be properly associated. In view of the Cretan results, it remains to be seen whether further excavations in various parts of the Aegean will not furnish results showing a development of civilization in the entire Aegean parallel to the Cretan.

¹ A good account of the Cretan excavations is given by Burrows, *Discoveries in Crete*, 1907.

That the early civilization of Greece was deeply influenced by the great civilizations of Egypt and Babylonia is now generally recognized. Its connexion with Egypt, especially, seems to have been of a very close nature¹. This seems all the more surprising if one remembers the characteristic exclusiveness of the Egyptians.

As to the "Mycenaeans" themselves, the view mostly favoured at the present time is that they were Achaeans². Attempts have been made to show that they were Phoenicians³, or that the Phoenicians in their rôle of intermediaries were at least responsible for the spread and development of the culture; but consequent on the Cretan discoveries has come the clearer recognition of the lateness of the influence of Tyre and Sidon on the Aegean⁴.

Greek scholars have been accustomed to look to the north as the direction from which came the migrations which had so much influence on the population of the Aegean and its culture. But what we have learned of the Javanites makes us inquire if there is no evidence for an immigration

¹ The points of connexion with Egypt are too numerous to mention here. A few of the points of agreement with the civilization of Babylonia may be given: altar, garments of priestesses, gold-work, possibly gesture of adoration [*v. Fritze, Strena Helbigiana*, 1900, pp. 78 ff.]; the clay-tablets, art of burning enamelled ware, coloured tile-work, signalling by beacon, eleven-stringed lyre, art in general [Lehmann, *Babyloniens Kulturmission*, 1903: see also Delitzsch, *Mehr Licht*, 1907, especially pp. 37 ff.]; in astronomy, astrology, philosophy [Winckler, *Die Babylonische Kultur in Beziehung zur Unsrigen*, 1902]; on the connexion between their early literatures, cf. Jensen, *Z. A.*, 1902, pp. 125 ff., also Fries, *Klio*, III, pp. 371 ff.

² There has been considerable variety of opinion on the subject. They have been identified with Pelasgians, Carians, Aeolians, Trojan-Phrygians, aborigines of Asia Minor, Hellenes from the north, combinations of Phrygians and Cretans, and of Phoenicians and Asia Minor Greeks [cf. Walters, *History of Ancient Pottery*, I, 1905, p. 275; Pöhlmann, *Griechische Geschichte*, 1906, pp. 15 ff., &c.].

³ The hypothesis that they were Phoenicians has found notable advocates in Helbig, *Homer. Epos*, 1887, and Bérard, *Phéniciens et l'Odyssée*, 1901.

⁴ *Vide* Evans, *Corolla Numismatica*, 1906, p. 336, and Burrows, *Discoveries in Crete*, 1907, pp. 143 f.

from the south. We have already drawn attention to the early construction of waterways joining the Red Sea and the Mediterranean, and the tradition given by Pliny connecting Crete and South Arabia. Still more important evidence is now forthcoming. The Cretan excavations have shown that the garb of the early Cretans was the loin-cloth. The later costumes exhibit a development from this garment. The whole subject has been carefully investigated by Mackenzie [*B. S. A.*, XII, pp. 234 ff.], who convincingly shows that we have here proof of the southern origin of the early Cretans. He would connect them with the pre-dynastic population of the Nile valley. He might well go a step further and connect them with the natives of Punt. The loin-cloth was the garb worn by that race [Maspero, *L'Orient Classique*, II, pp. 248 f.]. In the pictorial representation of Queen Hatshopsewet's expedition to Punt, for instance, the prince of this land is depicted wearing just such a loin-cloth as the Cretan. Further, Zeus¹, like the Egyptian Osiris, was connected with the Ethiopians [cf. *Il.* i. 423; *Od.* i. 23; also *Diod.* ii. 97].

¹ Is it not possible that the name *Zeus* may be a form of the South Arabian Shems (even although Shems is feminine) or Babylonian Shamash, the sun-god, having regard to the passing over of *m* into *v*? The *v* of *Zeus* was no doubt originally consonantal, as it still is in modern Greek. The Doric Σδεύς would almost seem to be an attempt to reproduce the Semitic *sh*. In the cosmogony of Sanchunjathon (as preserved by Philo of Byblos and reproduced in Eusebius, *Praeparat. Evangel.*, X) Zeus is identified with the sun. "These [sc. Genos and Genea] had inhabited Phoenicia, and as it was very hot, they had stretched forth their hands heavenwards to the sun. Him they took for the only lord of the heaven, and named him Baalsamen, which is amongst the Phoenicians 'lord of the heavens,' amongst the Greeks Zeus" [Jeremias, *A. T. A. O.*, p. 143]. In several early Greek inscriptions Zeus is called Helios [cf. Preller-Roberts, *Griech. Myth.*, 1894, p. 136, note 1; Gruppe, *Gr. Myth.*, 1906, pp. 1095 ff.]. Further, in Susa in Elam, de Morgan discovered in 1902 a diorite block with a representation thereon of Hammurabi receiving his code of laws (which are inscribed on the stele) from Shamash [Winckler, *A. O.*, IV, 4⁴, 1906]. Corresponding to this we have the legend of Minos of Crete receiving his laws from Zeus. To complete the resemblance we have the discovery by the Italian expedition of the early code of Greek laws

Conclusion. In the first part of the article an attempt was made to identify the Javanites and the traditional Phoenicians. The references to Javan gathered from all quarters seemed to show us that the Javanites occupied in early history the place that later traditions have assigned to the Phoenicians. Phoenicia, it was argued, was not the home of a Semitic-speaking race, nor did it make its influence felt in the Mediterranean until comparatively late. The deduction, further, was made that either Babylonia or South Arabia was the early home of the Javanites. In the second part, in the notes on Jemen, a short sketch has been given of the history of Southern Arabia so far as, in the absence of direct historical evidence, such history can be inferred. The possibility of regarding South Arabia as a centre of culture in antiquity has been briefly considered, and an identification of the names Jemen and Javan suggested. Special attention was directed to the view, widely held, that the early inhabitants of South Arabia were of a non-Semitic race. The connexions which apparently existed between South Arabia and Babylonia, Phoenicia, and Egypt have been briefly alluded to. The probable connexion of Jemen with the Aegean in pre-Homeric times has been referred to in the notes on Aegean civilization.

Taking into account all our evidence, we prefer to think of South Arabia as the earliest home of the Javanites. There seems to be every reason to believe that it was an early centre of culture. The incense trade, which had there its head quarters, was the means of promoting intercourse between the inhabitants of South Arabia and lands far distant, and hence was a potent factor in the rise and development of civilization in that quarter. It seems quite possible that South Babylonia derived the beginnings of its earliest (Sumerian) civilization from South Arabia. inscribed on the circular wall of the *agora* at Gortyna [cf. Maraghiannis; *Antiquités Crétaises*, 1907, pl. XLVIII], which would appear to closely resemble that of Hammurabi [Drerup, *Homer*, 1903, pp. 134, 145; Burrows, *Crete*, p. 139].

Synchronous with the Semitization of Southern Babylonia there could well have been an emigration, no doubt gradual, of Javanites to the Mediterranean. The Mediterranean was possibly already well known to the southern traders. In many of the places where they settled there would be intermarriage with the natives. The characteristics of race, more especially the language [cf. Herod. i. 57, 142], would in course of time become modified and altered. The effect of their culture on that of the people amongst whom they settled would depend on their numbers, for one thing, and the conditions of their settlement. In Phoenicia, for instance, two Hittite migrations of which we now have knowledge [cf. Winckler, *Mittheil. d. deutsch. Or. Gesellsch.*, 35 (Dec. 1907), p. 48], must have considerably altered the character of the people.

The influence of the South seems to have been most marked in the case of Crete. The squatting posture of the early Cretans, their loin-cloth garments, the gold-woven apparel, their fashion of house-building, &c., all indicate their southern origin. The alphabetic signs, also, discovered during the recent excavations, show a marked affinity to the Libyan, and hence to the South Semitic alphabet. It is possible that immediately prior to, and during the "Hyksos" domination of Egypt there was a considerable commercial intercourse between the Mediterranean and the South, in which the Delta played an important part. The "Hyksos" invaders, who entered Egypt during the political chaos that followed the overthrow of the XIIth Dynasty, seem to have been traders, and possessed of considerable culture¹. It is thus quite probable that at a time when

¹ In the quotation from Manetho (our only historical source of information on the subject) given by Josephus [*c. Apionem*, I. xiv] the Hyksos are said to be Arabs. It is very doubtful, however, if the words *τυβες δὲ λέγουσιν αὐτοὺς Ἀράβας εἶναι* [*c. Ap.* I. xiv. 9] can be attributed to Manetho. In the versions of Manetho's narrative given by Africanus [cf. Syncellus 61 A : vide *Frag. Hist. Graec.*, ed. Müller, II, p. 568] and Eusebius [cf. Syncellus 61 D : vide *l. c.*, p. 570] they are said to have been

Semitic tribes were pressing down towards Southern Arabia many of those in the South sought a new home in the Delta. The expulsion of the "Hyksos" caused several important changes. The Delta ceased to be the halfway house between the Aegean and South Arabia. Trade was diverted to the cities of Philistia and Syria, and the Mycenaean civilization now began to make its presence felt there. As in South Arabia, so in Phoenicia, the Semitic language conquered, and in course of time, under the hegemonies of Sidon and Tyre, Phoenicia entered on her period of greatest prosperity.

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Phoenicians. The nationality of these invaders has, however, given rise to considerable diversity of opinion amongst modern scholars. Identifications have been suggested with Canaanites, Elamites, Hittites, Sumerians [for references see Maspero, *L'Orient Classique*, II, 1897, p. 55, note], Philistines [Lepsius, *Aegypt. Chron.*, I, p. 341], Libyans [Caetoni, *Annali dell' Islam*, II, 1907, p. 847], Minaeans allied with other tribes from Elam and East Arabia [Glaser, *Skizze*, II, 1890, p. 328]. The Hyksos domination probably commenced about the beginning of the seventeenth century B.C., and lasted from 100 to 200 years—but all is at present subject of controversy. The Hyksos invasion may have been the natural outcome of great commercial activity in the Delta, carried on by people who were of foreign race. During the XIIth Dynasty there were already signs of increased prosperity [cf. Breasted, *Hist. Egypt*, 1906, p. 16]. With the advent of the New Empire we have a marked advance [cf. Erman, *Aegypten*, 1885, pp. 70, 155]. It is scarcely correct then to regard the Hyksos period as an age for Egypt of devastation and depression. The Hyksos had their head quarters in the Eastern Delta. As we have seen, they were Phoenicians according to Manetho. From his account of their doings, they seem in any case to have been traders [*vide* Josephus, *c. Ap.*, I. xiv. 4, 8]. Keeping in mind the Egyptian contempt of the trader [cf. Herod. ii. 167], we can perhaps better understand the significance of the opprobrious epithets the Egyptians heaped on the Hyksos, whom they forebore to mention by name. Manetho describes them as *ἀνθρώποι τὸ γένος ἀσημοι* [Josephus, *c. Ap.* I. xiv. 3]. The discovery of an alabaster vase lid at Knossos bearing the name of Khyan, one of the Hyksos kings [Brit. Sch. *Athens*. VII, p. 65, fig. 21] suggests that there was intercourse between the Delta and Crete at that time. Steindorff, indeed, contends that much that appears as new in the art of the New Empire may have been due to Mycenaean influence [*Arch. Anzeiger (Arch. Jahrb.)*, 1892, pp. 11 ff.].